SIR JOHN RHŶS MEMORIAL LECTURE

The Folk and the *Gwerin*: The Myth and the Reality of Popular Culture in 19th-Century Scotland and Wales

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I

IT MAY SEEM FLIPPANT to start with a 'Spot the *Gwerin*' contest, but it's useful as a means of providing a definition. Here are two candidates, separated by a century:

> A country where the entire people is, or even once has been, laid hold of, filled to the heart with an infinite religious idea, has 'made a step from which it cannot retrograde.' Thought, conscience, the sense that man is denizen of a Universe, creature of an Eternity, has penetrated to the remotest cottage, to the simplest heart. Beautiful and awful, the feeling of a Heavenly Behest, of Duty God-commanded, over-canopies all life.[1]

> We were a tribe, a family, a people.
> Wallace and Bruce guard now a painted field,
> And all may read the folio of our fable,
> Peruse the sword, the sceptre and the shield.

A simple sky roofed in that rustic day,
The busy corn-fields and the haunted holms,
The green road winding up the ferny brae.
But Knox and Melville clapped their breaching palms
And bundled all the harvesters away,
Hoodicrow Peden in the blighted corn
Hacked with his rusty beak the starving haulms.
Out of that desolation we were born.

Courage beyond the point and obdurate pride
Made us a nation, robbed us of a nation.
Defiance absolute and myriad-eyed
That could not pluck the palm plucked our damnation.
We with such courage and the bitter wit
To fell the ancient oak of loyalty,
And strip the peopled hill and the altar bare,
And crush the poet with an iron text,
How could we read our souls and learn to be?[2]

Plainly the *Gwerin* – the Welsh image of popular democracy – in Prys
Morgan's definition,

> a classless society, progressing rapidly yet retaining a closeness to the soil,
> educated, religious, cultured, keen to own its own land and property,
> hard-working and methodical, law-abiding, temperate in drink, respecting
> the sabbath, and an example to the world . . .[3]

is present in the first, which is an extract from Thomas Carlyle's review
of Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott* (1838) – in the ideal of a religion-
penetrated people. In the second, Edwin Muir's 'Scotland 1941', the
poet indicts Calvinism with the destruction of the Scottish sense of
community, and locates it on an uncomfortable ground: it 'made us a
nation, robbed us of a nation'. That my task isn't an easy one, even these
citations show. Religious enthusiasts found Carlyle a disturbing, infidel
presence; Muir the Orcadian, as apprehensive in dealing with 'Scotland'
as any *Gwerinwr* confronted by 'cosmopolitan South Wales', regarded the
great industrial city, like Calvinism, as an alien intrusion on his ideal of
nationality.[4]

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[2] Edwin Muir, 'Scotland 1941' in *Collected Poems* (London: Faber, 1960).
[3] Prys Morgan, 'The *Gwerin* of Wales – Myth and Reality' (1967), revised, translated and
rpt. in I. Hume and W. T. R. Pryce, *The Welsh and their Country* (Llandysul: Gomer
Press, 1986), p. 139.
[4] Edwin Muir, *Scottish Journey* (London: Heinemann, 1935), pp. 102-3, quoted in G. F. A.
Best, 'The Scottish Victorian City' in *Victorian Studies*, Vol XI (1967-8), p.330. Muir in 1948
became the first Principal of Newbattle Abbey College, which was consciously modelled on
Coleg Harlech.

In this exercise I hope I've shown that, in Scotland, something close to the Welsh myth of the *Gwerin* not only existed but both preceded and followed the flowering of the ideal in Wales, which Prys Morgan locates between the years 1880 and 1914. When David Jenkins translates the term as 'a man of the commonalty' the parallelism increases, both through the use of the figure 'John the Commonweal' by Sir David Lyndesay in his morality *The Thrie Estaitis* (1540) to embody the popular impulse which led to the Scots reformation, and through the use of the word 'commonwealth' by the Scots political scientist James Bryce to describe his democratic ideal in the later 19th century.[5]

This adds to the resonance of various 'is that a fact?' connections between the two countries at this time: the influence of Thomas Chalmers on Calvinist Methodist doctrine and culture; the sixth Marquess of Bute bankrolling various Scottish nationalist publications and groups out of his Cardiff income; Keir Hardie in Merthyr; the young Tom Jones in the Glasgow of Edward Caird and Sir Henry Jones; the young Christopher Murray Grieve imbibing the class struggle while a cub reporter on the *Monmouthshire Labour News*.[6]

'Is that a fact?' of course invites the response 'So what?' Is it worthwhile pinning down a myth? I think so. Myth can be used to 'order' reality. A Welsh historian writing about Scotland, Robert Anderson, takes the 'myth' of Scottish education seriously:

> The belief that Scottish education was peculiarly 'democratic', and that it helped to sustain certain correspondingly democratic features of Scottish life, formed a powerful historical myth, using that word to indicate not something false, but an idealization and distillation of a complex reality, a belief which influences history by interacting with other forces and pressures, ruling out some developments as inconsistent with the national tradition, and shaping the form in which the institutions inherited from the past are allowed to change.[7]

Myth, properly contextualized, is more than an ideological projection, it contributes not just to belief systems but to policy.

[5] David Jenkins, *The Agricultural Community in South-West Wales at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1971), p. 35; and see Thomas Kleinknecht, *Imperiale und internationale Ordnung: eine Untersuchung zum Gelehrtenliberalismus am Beispiel von James Bryce, 1838-1922 (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1985), particularly pp. 59ff.*

[6] H. J. Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism* (London: Faber, 1969), pp. 83-5; Thomas Jones, *Welsh Broth* (London: W Griffiths, 1951), pp. 1-80; Kenneth O. Morgan, *James Keir Hardie* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), pp. 112ff.; Alan Bold, *Hugh MacDiarmid* (London: John Murray, 1988), pp. 63-7.

[7] R. D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools and Universities* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983) p. 1.

The democratic 'myth' was always in the past placed in the dock by the 'economic interpretation of history': as one of the dodgier of the *faux frais* of production. For Gwyn A. Williams, writing in the 1970s, the *gwerin* was the 'pseudo-nation of Welsh dissent', an elitist means of disremembering both the sweeping population movements of the period and the industrial proletariat who were the true bearers of historical change. Matthew Price's academic task in Raymond Williams's *Border Country* (1961) is to 'measure the distance': to assess the social consequences of these population movements which, in Williams' implied judgement, the 'Welsh' tradition had ignored.[8]

By the 1960s this dismissal itself was under challenge, politically with the Liberal and nationalist intervention into two-party class-based politics, and academically through John Vincent's discovery of Ralf Dahrendorf and Peter Clarke's reanimation of the 'new Liberalism'. Economic class-consciousness was thereafter regarded as neither inevitable not actual; in Clarke's phrase: 'classes are essentially groups in conflict about power'.[9] In this context, Labour's rise at the beginning of the twentieth century had more to do with the malfunctions of ideology and 'organized', if not 'high', politics than with any dramatic change of allegiance at the grass roots. The *gwerin* were not dead but merely slumbering, like – who else? – Arthur and his knights under some interesting hill.

In the late 1980s this line received a boost from two apparently contradictory phenomena: the collapse of a self-proclaimed Marxian political order in East Europe, with the reinstatement of 'civil society' and the role within it of ethical judgement and 'public doctrine'; and the survival of patterns of political behaviour in Scotland and Wales which in the 1980s seemed simultaneously to transcend the decline of the economic structure of class politics and the acquisitive individualism of Thatcherite England. The miners marching back to Mardy Colliery in 1985 with their banners flying were the losers in an industrial conflict who seemed at the same time to breathe new (or old?) communitarian loyalties into life. Scots miners, with other Scots radicals in Holyrood Park in June 1987, cast a cool eye on Neil Kinnock while applauding the veteran Communist Mick McGahey as a symbol of the qualities which had just decimated the Scottish Conservatives. Both events seemed to echo not just the symbolism of 1926 – as potent in Scots as in Welsh culture – but the impact of the Penrhyn

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[8] In Prys Morgan, art.cit., p. 146; Raymond Williams, *Border Country* (1961, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), p. 333.

[9] See John Vincent, 'The Political Feelings of the People' in *Poll-Books: How Victorians Voted* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 43-50; and P. F. Clarke, 'The Electoral Sociology of Modern Britain' in *History*, Vol.57 No. 189, (February 1972), pp. 32-55, esp. p.43.

quarrymen's strike of 1900-3, which became the rallying-point for a wider radicalism.[10]

Behind the activists, and the odd similarity of 'anti-Thatcher Britain' to Gladstonian Britain, stood more complex social reasoning. When David Marquand attempted to define the 'principled society', he cited the Scots theologian and philosopher Alasdair McIntyre's revival of Aristotelian politics against dogmatic individualism:

> On the traditional Aristotelian view such problems do not arise . . . There is no way of my pursuing my good which is necessarily antagonistic to you pursuing yours because *the* good is neither mine peculiarly nor yours peculiarly – goods are not private property[11]

If the Mardy and Edinburgh rallies seemed uncannily *gwerinol* in spirit, they also conjured up the young Ramsay MacDonald, whose biographer Marquand was, and that great Aristoteleian W. E. Gladstone himself.

The open society needs its myths every bit as much as the revolution, and a concept rather like that of the *gwerin* performed a function in late 19th-century Scotland similar to its role in Wales. Which should be a warning to us about the pitfalls of demotic pluralism. I have called the Scottish end of my subject 'the folk', but the Tory democrat John Buchan, in a *pasquinade* against a 1900s Liberal, formulated things rather differently:

> I have never listened to any orator at once so offensive and so horribly effective. There was no appeal too base for him, and none too august: by some subtle alchemy he blended the arts of the prophet and the fishwife. He had discovered a new kind of language. Instead of 'the hungry millions', or 'the toilers', or any of the numerous synonyms for our masters, he invented the phrase, 'Goad's people'. 'I shall never rest,' so ran his great declaration, ''till Goad's green fields and Goad's clear waters are free to Goad's people.'[12]

Along this road can lie the sentimentality and exploitation of the Kailyard – Tom Nairn's 'great tartan monster' – or Keynes' famous line on Lloyd George, as 'rooted in nothing', not to speak of Myles na cGopaleen's 'Plain People of Ireland'. If a rhetoric lacks any lodging in

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[10] See R. Merfyn Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1981) pp. 267-84; a fascinating light is shed on the differences in national *mentalités* from an English Conservative standpoint by Maurice Cowling in his two volumes of *Religion and Public Doctrine in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 1986).

[11] Marquand, *The Unprincipled Society* (London: Fontana, 1988), p. 215; and see also Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), pp. 99ff.

[12] John Buchan, 'A Lucid Interval' in *The Moon Endureth* (1912), rpt. in David Daniell, ed., *The Best Short Stories of John Buchan* (London: Michael Joseph, 1982) p. 30.

the process of production, it can degenerate into the vacuity typified by the politics of post-independence Ireland. (*Fianna Fail*, when you think about it, could be rendered as 'the *gwerin* of destiny'). What we are dealing with – *pace* those authorities on things Celtic Kingsley Amis, Bernard Levin and Lord Dacre – *could* be an alliance of cultural con-men, religious bigots and would-be local elitists. So we have to interrogate the tradition both through comparison and by assessing mutual contributions: in particular the influence of the Scots on the Welsh, through the vehicle of the religious and print-capitalist politics that they were the first to capture.

If we return to Prys Morgan's definition, we could examine the *gwerin* under the following main aspects: the *gwerin* is (1) progressive (2) educated (3) religious (4) cultivated (5) classless (6) law-abiding (7) linked to the soil, and (8) temperate. These dispute the gradations of English society – Dahrendorf's 'layer-cake of fine class distinctions' – but they also interdict the notion of a proletariat, whose self-definition situates itself on the line of economic division.[13]

We would also be here all night, so I plan to concentrate my analysis round what the *gwerin* generation themselves saw as the key activities of religion and education, and from these expand into considering the way in which the economic and social evolution of the two societies was affected by institutions of civil society, and by the state.

II

> 'Tis true that her *gwerin*
> Own not an inch of her land,
> The Welsh are only pilgrims
> Upon the earth of beloved Wales,
> The arrogant conquered her,
> How often has she groaned! –
> The people which dwelled in her
> Live in dark deep captivity.[14]

The language of John Morris-Jones' *Cymru Rydd* ('Free Wales') is interesting, in that it's both powerful in its imagery, consonant with Welsh tradition, and deeply and ambiguously affected by an English religious/political discourse. The image of the landless pilgrim (later to be used so effectively by David Lloyd George) relates to Williams Pantycelyn – 'Guide me, o thou great Jehovah, Pilgrim through this barren land' – and

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[13] See Ralf Dahrendorf, *On Britain* (London: BBC Publications, 1983), pp. 51-79.
[14] Cited in Prys Morgan, art.cit., p. 137.

of course to John Bunyan (first translated into Welsh in 1699). But the 'dark deep captivity' also suggests the passage in Ralph Lingen's education report of 1847, of their language trapping the Welsh:

> Equally in his new as in his old home his language keeps him under the hatches . . . his superiors are content simply to ignore his existence. He is left to live in an underworld of his own, and the march of society goes completely over his head.[15]

The Welsh nonconformist elite, as Ieuan Gwynedd Jones has written, accepted that while 'Welsh was the language of religion,' 'English was the language of science, business and commerce, philosophy and the arts.' Scottish presbyterians in the 1700s similarly accepted that the survival of their church required the Treaty of Union with England.[16] The pilgrim's politics, in other words, are of circumspect and measured assimilation, coupled with the retention of the 'marrow' of national identity (something which was never so strictly defined as to eliminate the prospect of getting on well elsewhere): the sort of thing which Nicholas Phillipson has described in 18th and early-19th century Scotland.[17] One is forcibly reminded that at Oxford Morris-Jones' (and Sir John Rhŷs') Jesus College is not a stone's throw from Lingen's – and Edward Caird's and A. D. Lindsay's – Balliol.

The pilgrim is central to the protestant culture of civil war England. The Irish had a quite different memory. But whatever a pilgrim was, he was unlikely to be found in his parish pew, touching his hat to a squire with a pass degree. Hugh Miller – surely the role-model as a religious journalist for Thomas Gee – wrote in his *First Impressions of England* (1847):

> The merry unthinking serfs, who, early in the reign of Charles the First, danced on Sabbaths round the maypole, were afterwards the ready tools of despotism. The Ironsides, who in the cause of civil and religious freedom bore them down, were staunch Sabbatarians.[18]

In case we get the wrong idea, the message is rubbed home:

> . . . the preponderance of enjoyment lies on the more credulous side. I

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[15] Quoted by Saunders Lewis in 'The Fate of the Language' (1962), translated and published in *Planet* No. 4 (1971), p. 19.

[16] Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, 'Language and Community in Nineteenth century Wales' in David Smith, ed., *A People and a Proletariat* (London: Pluto Press, 1980), p. 61.

[17] Nicholas Phillipson, 'Nationalism and Ideology' in. J. N. Wolfe, ed., *Government and Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969), pp. 167-88.

[18] Hugh Miller, *First Impressions of England* (London: John Johnstone, 1847), pp. 45-6.

never yet encountered a better-pleased people . . . unthinking, unsuspicious, blue-eyed, fair-complexioned, honest Saxons.[19]

The English may have originated Puritanism, but the Scots, and later the Welsh, were better at it, being wired directly into the society of the Old Testament Israel, as in the great song of Scots radicalism, from the Covenanters to the Red Clydesiders, Psalm 124:

> Now Israel
>   May say, and that truly,
> If that the Lord
>   Had not our cause maintain'd;
> If that the Lord
>   Had not our right sustain'd,
> When cruel men
>   Against us furiously
> Rose up in wrath
>   To make of us their prey,
> Then certainly
>   They had devour'd us all . . .

This was sung on the moors, but also at St Enoch's Station – by the Glasgow Orpheus Choir – as Maxton, Wheatley and company went south in 1922.[20] Escape from the elite of the periphery – Jacobite, gentry, or Sir William Weir – came, not wholly owing to national efforts, but through a complex cultural diplomacy with the predominant partner.

The culture of religious dissent was on the face of it a factor common to Scotland and Wales. But the connections, while important, are complex. 'The chapels spoke as one', Kenneth Morgan writes, the nonconformity of Wales, which underpinned the notion of the *Gwerin* was 'a kind of unofficial established religion'.[21] Although Calvinistic Methodism resembles Scottish presbyterianism, the notion of any 'unofficial' establishment – a religion stemming directly out of the voluntary collaborations of civil society – was totally foreign to the Scots. In Scotland church-state relations were central, and in the mid-Victorian epoch, as before, *divided* presbyterianism in three ways.

First there was the Established Church. In Wales the overwhelming of episcopalianism by nonconformity was deemed 'progressive'; in Scotland the struggle over a formally presbyterian body was a different matter: about controlling it according to the letter of the Act of Union of 1707,

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[19] Ibid., p.369.
[20] Iain MacLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983), pp. 98-9.
[21] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 17.

through congregations and not landlords. This struggle was lost in 1843, although the creative treatment of the 'Disruption' by those whose defeat made them into Free Churchmen presented this as a victory for the Scots religious impulse. In reality it meant the end of a distinctive devolution of education and social welfare to the assemblies of the Church – and the transfer of this power to an English-style bureaucracy.

The 'Disruption' was also seen as a radical, anti-landlord act, although the conflict between the 'landlords' men' and the 'Godly Commonwealth' was not an overall phenomenon. William Alexander (1826–94) is a Scots novelist almost exactly co-aeval with Daniel Owen (1836–95); his *Johnnie Gibb of Gushetneuk* (1871) (subtitled 'a study of parish politics') rapidly became a Scottish classic, running into several editions by 1900. The eponymous crofter hero, fighting the 'muckle fermers' in the 1840s for his own livelihood and religious freedom, shows many *gwerin*-like characteristics, yet in the Aberdeenshire in which the novel is set, the 'Auld Kirk' continued to command general allegiance (70+% of the population) in an area where Liberals and radicals were politically supreme.[22]

For much of the 19th century, moreover, both the 'Auld Kirk' and the Free Church were 'united' in favouring the *principle* of establishment – something quite foreign to the Welsh tradition. They were strongly opposed by 'the Voluntaries', who attacked the state connection, yet even they stemmed from legalistic disputes about religious control. The Auld Licht Anti-Burghers, whom J. M. Barrie featured in his *Auld Licht Idylls* (1886), a strong influence on Caradoc Evans's *My People* (1915), were such a 'secession'. But where Evans's Methodists represented a nonconformist oligarchy, Barrie's Auld Lichts could be safely dismissed as an absurd remnant of 18th-century Calvinist extremism.[23]

'Dissent' could unite the non-Anglican *gwerin*; in Scotland for much of the century it divided the presbyterians, creating the bitter, nit-picking politics that the secularist and Liberal politician J. M. Robertson despised – 'the inherent reactionary bias of the ecclesiastical system had turned back the hands of the social clock'.[24] Yet this highly 'political' agenda linked religion closely to law and to some extent with statecraft, creating the possibility of a more intellectual, less disputative theology which could

[22] For a masterly study of Alexander in his literary-political context see William Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), pp.101-34.
[23] See Regina Weingartner, 'The Fight against Sentimentalism: Caradoc Evans and George Douglas Brown' in *Planet*, No. 75 (June–July, 1989), pp. 86-92.
[24] J. M. Robertson, *The Perversion of Scotland* (London: Freethought Publishing Company, 1886), p. 215.

venture out from Calvinism and create a discourse broad enough to bridge the church-government divide – something evident in the theology of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, the friend of F. D. Maurice, Carlyle and Guizot, and figures like John MacMurray and John Baillie in the 20th century.[25]

In this context, it is interesting to look at Chalmers' influence on the *gwerin*. Lewis Edwards (1809–87) studied under him at Edinburgh and went on to found Bala College and, in 1846, *Y Traethodydd*, which, consciously modelled on the *Edinburgh Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, devoted much attention to Chalmers' theology and social projects. One of its leading contributors, Owen Thomas (1812-91), whose *cofiant* of Chalmers' contemporary and equivalent, John Jones Talysarn is reckoned by some the best biography in Welsh, was also an Edinburgh graduate. Their contribution reflects the power and contradictions of Chalmers's approach: the commitment to economic individualism *and* to the idea of community; to scriptural inspiration, but also to scientific sophistication; to the 'select' nature of their own nationality, and to a cosmopolitan world-view. Chalmers has been dismissed by historians of a Fabian turn as a Tory arch-individualist (with saving graces in the social casework line); the most recent biography, by Stewart J. Brown, rightly sees his project of a Godly Commonwealth achieved through parochial revival as something peculiarly Scottish.[26]

The concentration of the nonconformist intelligentsia – Lewis Edwards, Michael D. Jones, later O. M. Edwards and Tom Ellis – around Bala, its nonconformist colleges and linking position between rural mid-Wales and the rapidly-developing slate-quarrying north, seems to have led to un-Chalmersian modulation of the parochial ideal. Farmer- and minister-dominated Welsh Unions, though stingy with their poor rates, but were also notorious for rarely applying the workhouse test.[27] Communitarianism won out over classical economics, providing a basis for *gwerinol* 'classlessness'. But the Free Church also provided precedent for the Welsh confrontations of the 1850s and 1860s: in its defiance of the landlords, its closeness to Gaelic Scotland (over 20% of its clergy were Gaelic speakers), and the democracy of the kirk session, the Scottish equivalent of the Welsh *seiet*.[28]

[25] See William Hanna, ed., *The Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen*, 2 vols, (London: David Douglas, 1877); and see Beveridge and Turnbull, op.cit., pp. 91-111.

[26] Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), especially pp. 118ff.

[27] Anne Digby, 'The Rural Poor Law' in Derek Fraser, ed., *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1976), pp. 158ff.

[28] See Derick Thomson, ed., *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), p. 87; Sir John Rhŷs and David Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900), p.589.

Coming after Rebecca, and after the depredations of the 'Scotch Cattle' (did this mysterious movement echo Scottish secret societies like the 'Horseman's Word?), both movements presented a reassuring legalism.

In Scotland the evangelical revival was not, as H. T. Buckle stigmatized it, a reaction against enlightenment, although it unquestionably mobilized some notable throwbacks to 17th-century bigotry, such as the social reformer, nationalist and ultra-protestant, the Rev. James Begg.[29] It was more of a continuation of the theistic, socially conservationist element in the enlightenment represented by the 'common sense' philosophers Thomas Reid and Adam Ferguson, whose position George Davie has described:

> . . . it is inherent in the nature of the belief in an external world or in the mathematical ideals to envisage facts not contained in the sum of the various elementary experiences involved in the genesis of these items of the common sense, and this peculiar and fundamental fact of self-transcendence is held . . . to be an ultimate irrational mystery.[30]

Yet the *étatisme* of Scots religion emphasized a further, social-psychological, difference. In Scots Calvinism conflicts between the churches, and between 'members' and 'adherents', detracted from that intense sociocultural hegemony exercised by religious bodies in rural and small-town Wales. The Scots equivalent of the *llythyr canmoliaeth* and sanctions against adulterers or loose women, for example, seems to have waned long before the kirk sessions lost power over parish relief after the passage of the Poor Law (Scotland) Act in 1845. With such a broad pallet of religious options on offer, the Scottish religious consumer was sovereign.

In part this can be put down to earlier industrialization and population change; in part to the fact that the kirk was part of a pluralistic political system. Thus in Scotland a pagan, hedonistic culture of dancing, storytelling, singing, drinking and bawdry coexisted with the Calvinist 'unco guid' – even in those areas dominated by the Free Church at its most fundamentalist, such as the Western Isles (still, notoriously, an area famed for record–breaking commitments to pietism and alcohol). The national consumption of 2.55 gallons *of spirits* per head per annum in the 1830s, was evidenced in terrifying detail in Dean Ramsay's best-selling *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* (1857). The Kirk was not spared, with tales

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[29] H. T. Buckle, *The History of Civilisation in England*, Vol.III (1861, London: Longmans Green, 1872); I deal with Begg, *inter alia*, in an essay on 'The Covenanting Tradition' in Tom Gallagher and Graham Walker, eds, *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestantism in Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1991).
[30] See George Elder Davie, *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and her Universities in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961), p. 27

of Presbyteries knocking the bottoms off their glasses before starting on an evening of serious drinking.[31] Rural Wales had a limited spirituous culture – as demonstrated by the brief and inglorious career of the country's only distillery and generally low sales of high-alcohol drink, even before the passage of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act (1881).[32] Scotland preceded Wales both in a popular temperance movement (strongly connected with moral-force Chartism) and in the legal enforcement of temperance, with the Forbes-MacKenzie Act of 1857, but illegal distilling continued on a huge scale in the Highlands and Islands, part of the 'bad weather culture' of a North European people, and an involvement with fishing, inshore and deep-sea, which with its dangers and spasms of relaxation, was quite different to farmers and quarrymen with their relatively settled lives. J M Robertson wrote accusingly in 1886:

> Austerity and joyless-gloom on the one hand produce their natural corrective in dissolute mirth and defiant licence on the other . . . A moral duality, so to speak, runs through past Scottish life in a way that seems at times perplexing.[33]

The same year saw this dualism unforgettably dramatised in *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*. This unrespectable culture, which the church only fitfully reached, had dimensions which astonished those who penetrated through to it – like the schoolmaster Gavin Greig and the minister Robert Duncan whose Carnegie-funded folksong researches in the 1900s were virtually swamped by the material they provoked.[34]

III

The *gwerin* was never as seriously troubled by psychological dualism, although it was unquestionably *there*, in the biographies of O. M. Edwards and of Lloyd George. Welsh nonconformity exercised this sort of comprehensive cultural hegemony because it implied a counter-culture to

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[31] See also T. C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People* (Glasgow: Collins, 1986), p. 135.

[32] W. R. Lambert, *Drink and Sobriety in Victorian Wales*, c.1820–c.1895 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1983), p. 7.

[33] J. M. Robertson, *Perversion of Scotland*, p. 211.

[34] Trefor M. Owen, 'Community Studies in Wales: an Overview' in Hume and Pryce, coll.cit., p. 110; see also Ian A. Olson, 'Scottish Traditional Song and the Greig-Duncan Collection: Last Leaves or Last Rites?' in Cairns Craig, ed., *The History of Scottish Literature*, Vol.4, *Twentieth Century* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), pp. 37-48; and Hamish Henderson, 'The Ballad, the Folk and the Oral Tradition' in Edward Cowan, ed., *The People's Past* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1980).

the British state, whereas Scots Calvinism had been statutorily incorporated into it. This was recognized by Queen Victoria's worship in the Auld Kirk in Scotland (Crathie Church was specially built for Balmoral in 1896, but the royal family had patronized the local kirk since 1854) instead of the Episcopalian chapels of the nobility, while being generally regarded as hostile to the Welsh.[35] The Scots, moreover, differed from the Welsh in their attitude to the military role of the state. The *gwerin* ideology was fundamentally pacifist, an importation into Wales of the values of 'militant' Old Dissent, via the Liberation Society and Peace Society, triumphing in 1868 with the election as MP for Merthyr in 1868 of the Rev. Henry Richard, 'the Apostle of Peace'.[36]

In Scotland the reverse was the case. The Liberation Society had no influence on Scottish politics, and from the 1850s on the Volunteer Force gained remarkable support. Hugh Cunningham has calculated that it involved 5.5% of the adult male population in Scotland in 1881 (against 2.6% in Wales and 2.8% nationally).[37] This was not simply a reflex of the belligerency of the Crimean War, 'Thin Red Line' period. The issue of a 'militia', an embodiment in arms of the Scottish people, had been a fixture of Scots political argument since the days of the Covenanters and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun.[38] This military ethos seems to have affected the Free and Voluntary Churches as much as the Church of Scotland; indeed its most enduring traces were in the Boys Brigade Movement, founded by a Free Church elder and Volunteer officer, William A. Smith, in 1883, with the assistance of the scientist, preacher and Liberal Professor Henry Drummond. It numbered 44 companies (25 in Glasgow, four in England, none in Wales) in 1886.[39]

Seventeenth-century Scottish Calvinism, as Arthur Williamson pointed out, concentrated more on its civic mission – 'the Godly Commonwealth' – than on the millenarian/imperial appeal of being a 'protestant nation' that fixated the contemporary English.[40] In the 19th century this modulated into a myth of settler democracy: a small-farmer, radical-democrat, religious-dissenting ethos of the F. J. Turner pattern, often strongly moulded by

[35] Victoria paid only one visit to Wales, four days in 1889. See Sir Sidney Lee, *Queen Victoria* (Londom: Smith Elder, 1904), pp. 516-17.
[36] Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, 'The Liberation Society and Welsh Politics' in *Explorations and Explanations* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1983), pp. 236-69.
[37] Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force* (London: Croom Helm, 1975), pp. 46-7.
[38] See John Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983).
[39] Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), pp. 56-7.
[40] Arthur Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983), p. 35.

the 'gloomy memories' of persecution in and eviction from their native land, and given a powerful thrust in Thomas Carlyle's *Chartism* of 1839.[41] Scotland's was more of an emigrant than an immigrant culture, and although they lacked a Madoc myth, Scots settlements were fairly thick on the ground, particularly the Gaelic-speaking colonies in Cape Breton Island, the Free Church's settlement in Otago after 1848, centred on Dunedin and Port Chalmers, and the mission settlements on Lake Nyasa.[42] The 1850s seem to have been something of a turning point, when after a brief upsurge of romantic Scottish nationalism and associated Scots-English sparring in the newspapers, the Crimea (the Thin Red Line), the Indian Mutiny, the enormous success of David Livingstone as missionary hero, and the raising of the volunteer regiments contrived to implant an imperial enthusiasm which remained at least until the Boer War.[43]

Wales, as a royalist enclave, had not been subject to the 17th-century debate on protestant destiny, and although a form of Welsh imperialism certainly developed in the 19th century, it was overshadowed by the successful and radical Welsh emigration to America.[44] Imperial enthusiasm existed, in the Methodist community and in the effusions of mid-century 'bards' like 'Ceiriog'; there was no political unity in Wales over responses to the Boer War, despite Lloyd George's position.[45] But a wholehearted commitment was lacking, perhaps because too close a linkage with English expansion was seen as inimical to the language. The 'Welsh colony' in Patagonia had an ideological presence out of all relation to its size, while Ulster – 'the most successful Scots colony of all time' – was something Scots radicals wanted (and still want) to forget about.[46] Imperialism's role was to determine Scottish identity at the margin, and in fact to produce a diffusion of loyalties. This impressed the Free Churchman Buchan when he became Governor-General of Canada in the 1930s; it may figure to some extent in the current enthusiasm for the notion of an independent Scotland in a united Europe.[47]

[41] Thomas Carlyle, *Chartism* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1839), particularly Ch. 10.

[42] Thomson, *Companion*, p. 215. There were 34,000 Gaelic speakers on Cape Breton in 1900, and of their 35 ministers, 29 preached in Gaelic; Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959), pp. 90ff.

[43] H. J. Hanham, 'Mid-Century Scottish Nationalism: Romantic and Radical' in R. Robson, ed., *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain* (London: Bell, 1967), pp. 143-79; and see H. C. G. Matthew, *The Liberal Imperialists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 289.

[44] See Gwyn A. Williams, *The Search for Beaulah Land: the Welsh and the Atlantic Revolution* (London: Croom Helm, 1980); compare with Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London: Robert Hale, 1966), pp. 34-44.

[45] For Ceiriog see Tony Bianchi, 'An Englishman and Something More' in *Planet*, No.69 (June-July 1988): Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, p. 45.

[46] Donaldson, op.cit., p. 29.

[47] Janet Adam Smith, *John Buchan* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1965), pp. 422ff.

IV

The path of the pilgrim had some unusual – but not impossible – termini. No less ambiguous, and longer lasting, was the educational impulse, something which was central – effectively a religion-surrogate – not only to the John Rhŷs, O. M. Edwards, Tom Ellis generation in Wales, but to Scottish cultural politics. In some ways the present nationalist revival stemmed intellectually from the publication of George Davie's *The Democratic Intellect* in 1961. Even in the 1980s the educational sociologist Andrew MacPherson could write that the essential module of Scots education in the *20th* century was the rural, all-ability secondary school, and something similar still appertains in contemporary Wales.[48] The rural bias of the *gwerin* was perhaps understandable, given that in 1880 the great urbanization of Welsh society had still to occur. But Scotland had had the most rapid urbanization rate in 18th and early 19th century Europe, so an ideal of progress based on a rural or small-town community seems paradoxical.[49]

Yet both tally with the ideals of 'improvement' which marked the Scottish enlightenment. Francis Hutcheson, in his *Address to the Gentlemen of Scotland* (1735) had seen the defence of Scottish identity as resting in its educational system, and charged the gentry of the country with its development.[50] Adam Ferguson (a Gaelic-speaker) and Adam Smith both stressed the essentially agrarian basis of society, and warned against the large-scale urban and industrial unit as something which could destroy the ideal of community, or Smith's vaguer 'social sympathy'. To both Ferguson and Smith, social progress came about by a dialogue between the market and the community, in which the excesses of the former – the automatism of the division of labour or of an individualistic arrogance – was compensated for by an ideal of the collective, by martial valour (hence the importance of the militia issue) and by access to public education.[51]

John Mullen has, for instance, attempted to explain the success of the bland and tautologous but enormously influential *Man of Feeling* (1771) by Henry Mackenzie:

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[48] Andrew MacPherson, 'An Angle on the *Geist*' in Walter Humes and Hamish Paterson, eds, *Education and Scottish Culture, 1780-1980* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983): and see Tony Bianchi, 'R. S. Thomas and his Readers' in Tony Curtis, ed., *Wales: the Imagined Nation* (Bridgend: Poetry Wales Press, 1987).

[49] T. M. Devine, 'Urbanisation' in T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison, eds, *People and Society in Scotland, Vol. 1, 1760-1830* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), pp. 27-52.

[50] George Elder Davie, 'Hume, Reid and the Passion for Ideas' in Douglas Young, ed., *Edinburgh in the Age of Reason* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), pp. 25ff.

[51] Quoted in Duncan Forbes, 'Adam Ferguson and the Idea of Community' in ibid, p. 46.

> the compensatory assurance of a potential for social solidarity was required by a culture which was learning to describe the effects of competition and self-interest. In Scotland, a nation whose propertied class had to find a substitute in politeness and intellectual cohesiveness for the political identity it had lost with the Act of Union, the ideal of sociability was particularly alluring and difficult.[52]

In Scotland education was more than an instrument of socialisation or an expression of nationality; it was something central to the institutions of the country's polity. As such it had its parties, its patronage, its own politics. Robert Anderson regards Davie's distinction between 'Scots' and 'Anglicisers' as something which oversimplifies all the various intersecting interests – bureaucracy, teachers, curriculum, class interests, politicians – which went into educational legislation and its enforcement.[53] With the Welsh, creating a system more or less from scratch made for a more homogenous approach. It would have been inconceivable for a Tory to have provided it with a central rationalization, as was the case in Scotland, where 'democratic intellectualism' was the coinage of Walter Elliot, Secretary of State, 1935–8, and in some ways the Scots' answer to Tom Jones.[54]

In both countries education presented continuing political challenges during the 19th century: 'Anglicising' assaults – in Scotland in the 1820s, in Wales in the 1840s – stimulated a 'national' agitation (but with an eye on the greater partner), then the 'acceptable' – but still mortal – compromise.[55] Did the Welsh take over the myth – already alluded to – of the indispensable links between Scottish education and the democratic nature of Scottish society? The Scots certainly insisted strongly enough that their successful industrialization stemmed from the 'improving' strengths of Scottish civil society – trained manpower, Calvinist work ethics and social control, a well–developed banking system – rather than from (as seems more likely) mineral wealth and low wages.[56] The Welsh national movement devoted itself with great energy – there is no-one in Scotland comparable to Sir Hugh Owen (1804-81) – to acquiring an educational system cognate with the Scots', and achieved success in 1889 with the Intermediate Education Act. It could even be argued that this put Wales ahead, as the new Welsh

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[52] John Mullen, 'The Language of Sentiment' in Andrew Hook, ed., *History of Scottish Literature*, Vol.2, *1680-1830* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), p. 275; and see Ian Campbell, *Kailyard* (Edinburgh: Ramsay Head, 1981), pp. 18ff.

[53] R. D. Anderson, *Education in Victorian Scotland*, Appendix 1.

[54] Davie, *Democratic Intellect*, Preface; and see Colin Coote, *A Companion of Honour: The Story of Walter Elliot* (Glasgow: Collins, 1965), p. 16.

[55] See Anderson, op. cit., Ch. 2; and Donald Witherington, 'Scotland a Half Educated Nation' in Humes and Paterson, *Scottish Culture*, pp. 55-74.

[56] See T. C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People*, pp. 109ff.

educational establishment was more progressive than its Scots equivalent: the radicalism of O. M. Edwards (1858-1920) rather than the high Toryism of Sir Henry Craik (1846-1931), something reflected in the history books that both wrote.

More generally, we can use education as a paradigm of Ieuan Gwynedd Jones' useful approach – who was providing social overhead capital, and under what terms was it applied? In rural Wales this was crystallized in chapels, schools, halls, *eisteddfodau* and the 'People's University', a 'from the ground-up' business, with the occasional lucky break from a businessman of the David Davies sort.[57] In Scotland much of this capital was already in place: donated by an 'improving' aristocracy which, on account of this, survived as a factor in Scottish politics, educational and cultural life. R. B. Haldane, of a gentry-lawyer family which had been leaders of dissent in the 18th century, patronized the Fabians, promoted higher education, and chaired the Welsh University Commission, 1916-18.[58] John Sinclair, Lord Pentland (1860-1925) of the family which had earlier organized the massive *Statistical Accounts*, became both a popular Scottish Secretary, 1906-12, and – along with the Earl of Aberdeen – the patron of the polymath sociologist, regional planner and Celtic nationalist Patrick Geddes.[59]

Both countries were subject to increased social tensions as new urban areas expanded at the end at the end of the 19th century – particularly with the growth of port and commercial communities with their more cosmopolitan workforce. In Scotland this expansion was 'poured' into a long-lived and sophisticated urban tradition – the Convention of Royal Burghs had its origins in the 13th century, but in South Wales there was only a vestigial town tradition and the 'urban' – or employer/paternalist type of town – predominated over the 'civic' – or political/corporate type – until quite late in the century. The commercial provision of social utilities arrived with state action, in the shape of the Cathays Park complex, hard on its heels.[60] In this sense Wales seems to have followed Scotland, which had generated a civic movement comparable with that of America by the

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[57] Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, 'Language and Community', pp.50-1.

[58] Eric Ashby and Mary Anderson, *Portrait of Haldane at Work on Education* (London: Macmillan, 1974) pp. 123-32.

[59] See Lady Pentland, *Lord Pentland: a Memoir* (London: Methuen, 1928); Lord and Lady Aberdeen, *"We Twa"* (London: Collins, 1925), pp. 188-90; for Geddes' influence on social studies in Wales see David Michael, 'Before Alwyn: the Origins of Sociology in Wales' in Glyn Williams, ed., *Crisis of Economy and Ideology: Essays on Welsh Society*, 1840-1880 (Cardiff: Social Science Research Council and British Sociological Association, 1983), p. 24.

[60] Neil Evans, 'The Welsh Victorian City: the Middle Class and Civic and National Consciousness in Cardiff, 1850-1914' in *The Welsh History Review*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (June 1985), pp. 351-2.

1890s, but the ruralism and puritanism of the *gwerinwr* spoke against developments such as the 'establishment'–backed revival both of local ceremonies (Up Helly Aa! in the Shetlands and the Border Common Ridings in the 1870s), and the enormous expansion in Burns Clubs from the 1880s on.[61]

In Scotland the 'civic' was patent in the ambitious town planning schemes of the enlightenment period, replicated on a smaller scale in country burghs and landlords' model villages. The continuation of this tradition may owe something to the relatively greater fortunes made in Scotland in property, trade, brewing and banking. Major museum, art gallery and technical education projects were under way from the 1830s – financed in part by the Board of Manufactures created in 1727 as a consequence of the 1707 Act of Union. The universities expanded after 1861 – student numbers doubling to 6,798 in 1890, in a combination of state action with private philanthropy. The same factors supplemented the benevolence of Andrew Carnegie (who made his millions at a safe distance from Scotland) in providing opulent public libraries in 77 Scottish towns by the 1900s, and extensive grants to students in higher education.[62] Was this populist or elitist – or a contradictory combination of both?

Two major critiques have been made of such educational movements: one, that they elevated religion and culture above technical innovation; two, that they promoted ambitions which could not be bound by the national unit.[63] The former charge cannot fairly be laid at the door of the bureaucracy: both the Scottish Education Department and its Welsh equivalent tried to promote 'modern' studies and technical education, only to run into opposition from working-class bodies which suspected that they were being sold a lower-grade form of education.[64] The latter charge was guiltily evident in hackneyed Scottish jokes about all London Scots being inaccessible since they were all 'heids o' depairtments'. Both Scots and Welsh ran into 'unfriendly fire' from the pen of T. W. H. Crosland at about the time of Lloyd George (the tradition of English aggression towards the

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[61] See Christopher Harvie and Graham Walker, 'Community and Culture' in Hamish Fraser, ed., *People and Society in Scotland, 1830-1914* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990).

[62] See Olive Checkland, op.cit, pp. 142-3; R. D. Anderson, op.cit., pp. 350-1 for statistics; pp. 287ff. for Carnegie.

[63] In 1900 the University of Wales conferred 60 degrees in Arts, only 10 in Science; in 1913 the figures were 114 and 27. See G. W. Roderick, 'Education, Culture and Industry in Wales in the 19th Century' in *The Welsh History Review*, Vol.13 (December 1987), No. 4., p. 443.

[64] R. D. Anderson, op.cit., p. 191; and see the opposition to O. M. Edward's plans for technical education in the South Wales valleys, in K. S. Hopkins, ed., *The Rhondda: Past and Future* (Cardiff, 1976).

non-Irish Celts deserves rather more attention than it's been given).[65] But this notion of the university as 'graduate factory' also damaged the fabric of working-class communities, as another Scoto-Welsh witness, Jennie Lee, wrote.[66] The 'positional goods' nature of Scottish education was to come under fierce attack – 'a land of second-hand thoughts and second-rate minds' – from G M Thomson and A S Neill, as well as many others, in the 1920s.[67]

V

Their relationship to the Enlightenment caused major problems for the *gwerin* and the Godly Commonwealth. Both were ethics of conviction, social solidarity and an educational idealism which sought to embrace scientific progress, and the extension of higher education. At the same time their leaders feared the break-up that would be caused by the impact of the division of labour, scientism and mass-literacy. Thomas Chalmers was emblematic of this quandary. He had been reared in the rationalism of Edinburgh, which had stimulated his interest in science and economics; his later career attempted to equate this with evangelical Christianity.[68] Perhaps significantly, Chalmers on *Christian Revelation and Astronomy* (1846) was translated into Welsh in 1846, really the last of Welsh-language borrowings from Scots Calvinist theology. Few Scottish secular writers made the transition, although their works were summarised in Welsh periodicals like Lewis Edwards' *Y Traethodydd* (1846).[69]

The language issue is, of course, the major divergence. In both societies the 18th century saw a revival in native poetry and the native language, though for different reasons: Duncan Ban MacIntyre, William Ross and Alexander MacDonald in Scotland were shocked into lyrics of outstanding quality by the collapse of the clan society which had housed

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[65] See T. W. H. Crosland, *The Unspeakable Scot, Taffy* ·(London: Grant Richards, 1900 and 1910).

[66] Jennie Lee, *This Great Journey* (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1963), p. 89.

[67] G. M. Thomson, *Caledonia or the Future of the Scots* (London: Kegan Paul, 1926), p. 47; Trefor M. Owen, art. cit., p. 113.

[68]See S. J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, Ch. 5.

[69] The popular devotional works of Thomas Boston – *The Fourfold State of Man*, *The Crook in the Lot*, and *The Covenant of Grace*, were translated between 1769 and 1824. *Y Traethodydd*'s index shows rather more substantial entries on Carlyle, Chalmers, Sir William Hamilton and David Hume than on 'Iesu Grist'.

them. Goronwy Owen and Williams Pantycelyn in Wales reflected a
language which had ridden out attempts at acculturation and made
peace on its own terms with 'vital religion', Atlantic identity, and print
capitalism. The daring achievements in cultural construction of James
'Ossian' MacPherson (1736-96) in Scotland, and Iolo Morganwyg (1747-
1826) in Wales reflected this divergence. MacPherson's exploitation of
the juxtaposition of Gaelic and Lowland society – the 'militant' and
the 'industrial' – helped 'sell' the enlightenment in continental Europe,
in English.[70] Iolo, obviously deeply influenced by MacPherson's suc-
cess, and by the patronage of English romantics like Southey whom
'Ossian' enthused, achieved his 'enlightened' ends in Welsh.[71] Politically,
MacPherson wrote a threnody for a Scots Gaelic battered by political
collapse, eviction and dispersal, whose literary witness would ultimately
decline to the inconsistent genres of martial poetry, pietism and social
protest.[72]

These proved only too easy to adapt to a sporting-and-tourism
based culture of tartanry, sedulously fostered by the monarchy and
the surviving, and surprisingly resilient, Scottish Tories.[73] Only in 1892
was a body similar to the National Eisteddfod Committee, An Comunn
Gaedhealach, set up. Despite the fact that this followed the 'Crofters'
revolt', which surely contributed precedents to the Welsh tithe war of
1887-8, its role was purely literary and aesthetic. Being largely under
the control of the Conservative, 'Anglo-Gaelic' gentry of the Highlands,
it could even be seen as an attempt to check the radicalism which
had followed the third Reform Act. Lowland prejudice against the
Highlanders, which had been almost as widespread earlier in the century
as prejudice against the Irish, was diminished by migration into the cities
and sympathy with the victims of landlordism, but by that time Gaelic
had suffered the fate that, according to Brinley Thomas, Welsh would

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[70] Murray H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: the Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity,
1638 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 73-84.

[71] See Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), pp. 164ff.
None of the standard works on Southey refer to Iolo, and only Jean Raimond, *Robert
Southey: L'Homme et son Temps, L'oeuvre, Le Role* (Paris: Didier, 1966) draws attention
to his interest in Ossian.

[72] Derick Thomson, 'Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century: the Breaking of the Mould' in
Andrew Hook, ed., coll. cit., pp. 175-89; John MacInnes, 'Gaelic Poetry in the Nineteenth
Century' in Douglas Gifford, ed., *The History of Scottish Literature*, Vol.3, *The Nineteenth
Century* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988) pp. 377-96; 67 books in Gaelic
were published between 1750 and 1800, compared with over 1000 in Welsh. (Thomson,
Companion, p. 245; Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, p. 533.)

[73] Andrew Noble, 'John Wilson (Christopher North) and the Tory Hegemony'in Douglas
Gifford, ed., *The History of Scottish Literature*, Vol.3, *The Nineteenth Century* (Aberdeen:
Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 125-52.

have suffered in an non-industrial Wales. The numbers of Gaelic speakers slumped from about 20% of the Scots population in 1800 to about 5% in 1900.[74]

William Donaldson has argued for the continuing validity of lowland Scots as a vehicle of intellectual discourse – in local discussion circles, the local press, and in the realist novels of such as William Alexander. But even he sees this tradition in eclipse by the end of the century, overshadowed by the commercialism of the Kailyard, which transmitted a sanitized and sentimentalised Scotland to London and (particularly significant) to the USA after the copyright agreement of 1891.[75] 'Ian MacLaren's' *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, the quintessential Kailyard product, was the first book to lead the American best–seller list, established in 1895. 'MacLaren' hid the identity of the Rev. John Watson, presbyterian minister in Liverpool (surely a strategic Scoto-Welsh junction) and President of the Free Church Federal Council, who was promoted by that other luminary of the nonconformist general staff, the Rev William Robertson Nicoll, Lloyd George's hot-line to the free churches he had long since left in spirit.[76]

The Kailyard had plenty of Welsh imitators among the authors of chapel prize-books. But one Scottish voice, however, remained significant and disturbing in the areas of religion and education for most of the second half of the 19th century: Thomas Carlyle. His impact on the generation of Disraeli and Dickens was vast, but by the time the Welsh national movement got going in the late 1860s his anti-democratic sourness had become rather embarrassing to the metropolitan *literati*.[77] Not so in Scotland and Wales, whose younger generation accepted Walt Whitman's more generous estimate of Carlyle's epic qualities.[78] In Geraint Goodwin's *The Heyday in the Blood*, his young writer rediscovers the books of his father

> . . . one of the Young Men of Wales. In his dark, bitter, fuming, eyes, his long narrow face, his lean spindle body, one glimpsed the passion that was to devour him. He came at a time when the country was turning anxiously, as though in sleep . . .

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[74] Brinley Thomas, 'A Cauldron of Rebirth: Population and the Welsh Language in the Nineteenth Century', in *Welsh History Review*, Vol.13 (December 1987) No.4, pp. 418-37; and see James Hunter, 'The Politics of Highland Land Reform' in *The Scottish History Review*, Vol. 53 (1974), pp. 45-68.

[75] Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, pp. 146-9.

[76] See Christopher Harvie, 'Behind the Bonnie Briar Bush: the Kailyard Revisited' in *Proteus*, No.3 (1978).

[77] See Christopher Harvie, *The Centre of Things: Political Fiction in Britain from Disraeli to the Present* (London: Unwin Hyman 1991), especially Ch.2.

[78] Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas* (1871, London: Nonesuch, 1938), pp. 708-9.

The father had been a Methodist minister whose faith migrated from church to nation, something reflected in his library:

> Theological commentaries jostled one another along the shelves, political tracts, modern-day heresies. There was Locke and Spinoza, Hazlitt and William James, Cromwell's letters and speeches, a whole shelf of Carlyle . . .[79]

Advancing out of his books, the dead father plucks young Llew from fags and football and sets him down on his writing-desk. Something very similar happened to the young Henry Jones at Bangor and to David Lloyd George. As Frank Owen wrote, conflating Carlyle and Bunyan:

> It was Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* which began to lead him back by a broad track from Doubting Castle to his own rather highly personal view of of the Delectable Mountains (for it describes a man who made a similar journey).[80]

Carlyle doesn't seem to have been much translated into Welsh (it was difficult enough to understand him in English!) but despite any expectation that religious unorthodoxy would heep him well out of the Calvinist-Methodist main line, he features prominently among the contents of *Y Traethodydd*. The 'devouring passion', the radical and anti-aristocratic spirit of his most popular writings must have made an impact:

> Did a God make this land of Britain, and give it to us all, that we might live there by honest labour; or did the Squires make it, and – shut to the voice of God, open only to a Devil's voice in this matter – decide on giving it to themselves alone? This is now the sad question and 'divine right' that we, in this unfortunate century, have got to settle![81]

This resounded along the debateable lands of the Anglophone border – and in Keir Hardie's Merthyr – with an impact similar to that which Carlyle had on Young Ireland or Giuseppi Mazzini, who in turn would exercise their influence on Tom Ellis's generation.[82]

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[79] Geraint Goodwin, *The Heyday in the Blood* (London: Cape, 1936), pp.134-42.

[80] Sir Henry Jones, *Old Memories* (London: Hodder and Stoughton 1924), p. 94; Frank Owen, *Tempestuous Journey: The Life of David Lloyd George* (London: Hutchinson, 1954), p. 32.

[81] Thomas Carlyle, 'Baillie the Covenanter' (1841) in *Scottish and other Miscellanies* (London: Dent n.d.), p. 141.

[82] For Carlyle and 'Young Ireland' see Owen Dudley Edwards, 'Ireland' in *Celtic Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1968), pp. 123-4; Nevil Masterman, *The Forerunner: the Dilemmas of Tom Ellis* (Llandybie: Christopher Davies, 1971), pp. 16-19; K. O. Morgan, *Keir Hardie*, p. 22.

VI

The 'message' of Carlyle was essentially that of Adam Ferguson – the necessity of society:

> It is in Society that man first feels what he is; first becomes what he can be. In Society an altogether new set of spiritual activities are evolved in him, and the old immeasurably quickened and strengthened.[83]

A comparison of religion and education suggests the centrality in both countries of social *structure*: the mould into which politics has to be poured. The Scottish religious settlement partook more of the state, and this gave it a flexibility which could ride out the inconsistencies of 'vital religion', and resist the blandishments of the English *élite*, that beguiling mixture of goodwill, condescension, vague ethnic generalization masking tough metropolitan *realpolitik*, that is Matthew Arnold on *Celtic Literature*.[84] Preoccupation with a strategy which accepted Arnold's *étatism*, but tried to adapt it to the sort of compromise visible in Scotland, informed the Oxford-centred Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym generation, whose national and intellectual programme seems a Welsh version of the democratic nationalism of the *Essays on Reform* project twenty years earlier (which was actually edited by Albert Rutson, H. A. Bruce's private secretary.[85] Like them it was rooted in academic struggle – against the autocratic and anti–Welsh Principal Hugo Harper of Jesus College – and in an immediate political crisis, Gladstone's declaration for Irish Home Rule, which was overwhelmingly rejected by the Oxbridge and metropolitan Liberal intelligentsia.[86]

Indeed, if the *gwerin* and the folk have a comon political begetter, his name must be W. E. Gladstone. To Gladstone, the Scots Episcopalian, the Free Church 'Godly Commonwealth' of Thomas Chalmers was a reality, no matter how difficult it might be to square evangelical (or for that matter patristic) theology with scientific progress.[87] It showed the possibility of involving the laity in church government and, by analogy, in constitutional politics. This laity was the 'men' of the Scottish highlands; it could also be the 'fianna' of Celtic antiquity – masses, but also *convinced, empowered*

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[83] Thomas Carlyle, 'Characteristics' (1831) in *Scottish and Other Miscellanies*, p. 194.

[84] Matthew Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature* (1867, London: John Murray, 1912), especially p. 13.

[85] See Christopher Harvie, *The Lights of Liberalism* (London: Allen Lane 1976), especially Ch. 6.

[86] Ibid, Ch.8; and see G. Hartwell Jones, *A Celt Looks at the World* (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1946), pp. 34ff.

[87] W. E. Gladstone, 'The Theses of Erastus and the Scottish Church Establishment' in *The Foreign and Colonial Quarterly Review* (1844), rpt. in *Gleanings of Past Years*, Vol.III (London: Murray, 1879), p. 38.

masses.[88] The 1860s were not a good decade, in terms of calculable support, for Gladstone; high-church Oxford rejected him in 1865; his backsliding on the American Civil War and reluctance over reform stigmatized him in the eyes of metropolitan radicals; English urban constituencies were insecure. One senses therefore that the popular mobilization in 1868 of Liberalism in Wales came to him as, literally, a godsend. A constituency existed which could be relied upon to back him, and for some time he paid it careful court.

Ieuan Gwynedd Jones has written eloquently of the groups mobilized at this time, about their cultural ambiguities and their political resolution. Such 'executive committees' of the *gwerin* could – like Gladstone himself – dissolve potential (and indeed actual) intellectual contradictions in political activism and in the common experience of struggle against landlords, Tories and clergy.[89] They were a major input into that dramatic initiative on the Eastern Question, which saw Gladstone first articulate his 'classes versus masses' theme. Thereafter, however, Gladstone, though geographically resident in Wales at Hawarden, realized that Scotland provided greater crowds, an English language press, greater malleability in terms of issues, and in Lord Rosebery a wealthy and hard-working patron.[90]

Cruder statistics of political calculation were – with Gladstone increasingly centralized party over which he presided – apt to take over, and thereafter did. *Gwerinol* ideology, after the 1884 Reform act and the brief efflorescence of *Cymru Fydd*, was in the cultural and 'social overhead capital' sphere successful, but politically – as the famous Newport confrontation of 1896 made brutally clear – it was upheld by an archaic political structure which might be tolerable to the Liberal Party but failed completely to cope with demographic change in Wales.[91]

In Scotland the population of the three industrial western counties – Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and Ayrshire – was 21% of the Scots total in 1801, 27% in 1831, and 46% in 1911. These counties then returned 22 of the 70 territorial MPs. Between 1881 and 1911 the population of the two South Wales counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth doubled, while that of the rest of Wales rose only by 7%. Although Wales's electorate had been before 1832 more representative than that of Scotland – where scarcely 5,000 could vote – the proportion of electors to population in the

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[88] See Christopher Harvie, 'Gladstonianism, the Provinces, and Popular Political Culture' in Richard Bellamy, ed., *Victorian Liberalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).

[89] Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, 'Merioneth Politics in the Mid Nineteenth Century' in *Explorations and Explanations*, p. 159.

[90] See Michael Fry, *Patronage and Principle: A Political History of Modern Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986) pp. 92-3.

[91] Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, p. 118.

new industrial areas lapsed badly by 1867 (from 8% to 4% in Cardiff, for example).[92] Later demographic change worsened matters, since it occurred *after* the last major redistribution of seats, in 1884. By 1910 the political map was grotesque. The single MP for Cardiff represented 186,000 people; the MP for Merioneth scarcely 20,000. Glamorgan and Monmouth, with 63% of the population, had only eleven (or one third) of the Welsh seats (five of which were Labour).[93] This might have been a fair reflection of real divisions in Welsh politics, marked by growing confrontation in the mines and on the railways. In fact, the country (apart from the above seats and two small collections of towns) belonged to the Liberals, like a huge pocket borough.

In Scotland the sequence of population growth was more consistent, because the various phases of industrial development – linen-cotton-iron-engineering – dovetailed fairly neatly into one another, and the major industrial area remained in the West of the Central belt. An earlier demographic shift meant that the electorate was a fairer reflection of the society. Although fewer working people were enfranchised than in England, Scottish politics were more sensitive to industrial and political change, to imperialism and tariff reform. But if an earlier urbanization produced relatively stable politics by the 1880s, it also bequeathed the appalling social problem of cramped and insanitary housing: patrolled and kept from crisis by the 'municipal socialism' of the towns, but never overcome. In the 1900s Labour's major issue in south Wales was the issue of control of the work–process, as in *The Miner's Next Step* (1910); in Scotland it was housing, whether handled by John Wheatley's schemes on Glasgow City Council or by the Royal Commission that the Scottish Secretary, MacKinnon Wood, granted in 1913 as the result of pressure from the miners in particular.[94]

How much was the raw, confrontational quality of labour relations in the South Wales coalfield the result of the inequities of the degree of parliamentary representation then available? How much was it the result of memories of struggles with landlords or quarrymasters being imported from rural Wales?[95] At any rate, in South Wales housing was not the powder-keg

[92] Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, 'Franchise Reform and Glamorgan Politics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century' in *Morgannwg*, Vol.II (1958), pp.47-64.

[93] Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, 'Franchise Reform and Glamorgan Politics, 1869-1921' in *Glamorgan County History*, Vol.IV (1988), pp. 43-69.

[94] See Maclean, *Red Clydeside*, pp. 165ff.; Ian S. Wood, *John Wheatley* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 36ff; Joseph Melling, *Rent Strikes: People's Struggle for Housing In West Scotland, 1890-1916* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1983), especially Ch. 1.

[95] Hywel Francis and David Smith, *The Fed* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980) see the Welsh-speaking element among the miners as conservative (p. 19) but also report some chapels as radical nurseries (p. 10).

it was in Scotland. Welsh 'by-law' housing was unimaginative but on the whole adequate. In Scotland the Commission found difficulty in 1917 in describing the awfulness of conditions which were, for a start, five times more overcrowded than in England and Wales:

> unspeakably filthy privy-middens in many of the mining areas, badly-constructed, incurably damp labourers' cottages on farms, whole townships unfit for human occupation in the crofting counties and islands . . . gross overcrowding and huddling of the sexes together in the congested industrial villages and towns, occupation of one-room houses by large families, groups of lightless and unventilated houses in the older burghs, clotted masses of slums in the great cities.[96]

The housing issue introduced a class note in Scottish politics, which the Wheatley act of 1924 made into a class interest. Public control of housing and subsidized rents were to remain pillars of a deeply functional and resolutely unimaginative Scottish politics until the 1960s.[97]

VII

The mid-Victorian Scottish Liberal consensus was dissolving as the *gwerinwr* were getting into their stride. The split over home rule in 1886 went deeper than expected, revived the Unionist right, and drove Liberals to favour well-heeled southerners as candidates. A secular trading in votes by Scottish interest groups began in which the Unionists gave as good as they got and in 1900 even won a majority of Scottish seats.[98] This central fracture between an 'empowered people' and the structure of politics was reflected in both countries in ineffectual Liberal organization around the turn of the century, but by then the distinctive 'home rule' element in the Welsh revival had shot its bolt.

Scots home rule radicals could now leap-frog ahead, headed by the Young Scots, a body organized explicitly on the lines of Cymru Fydd.[99] But not for long. The war saw one *gwerin* leader boosted to world leadership, and the mobilization of the Welsh and Scottish industrial elites. It also propelled both economies into an enduring depression, knocking over the ideological, as well as social, supports of Liberalism. As the whole industrial project faltered, Calvinism itself was cast into question – an

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[96] Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Industrial Population of Scotland (London: HMSO, 1917), Cmnd. 8731, p. 102.

[97] T. C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People*, pp. 52ff.

[98] See I. G. C. Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland, 1832–1922* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985), pp. 209-12.

[99] Ibid, pp. 232ff.

essentially corrosive ideology which had destroyed an earlier community of 'sympathy'. In Wales the redistribution of 1918, granting Glamorgan and Monmouth 24 seats, would have finished the old Liberal order, even without the havoc wrought by Lloyd George. The war took a further, savage toll in the rural areas of both countries, further wounding a Welsh pacifist element, already compromised by its acceptance of 'Lloyd George's Welsh Army'.

Oddly but in some ways appropriately, both Lloyd George and D. A. Thomas were taken over by the English imaginative tradition: Joyce Cary transposed Lloyd George to Devon in his 'Chester Nimmo' trilogy (1953-5); Arnold Bennett made Thomas into *Lord Raingo* (1926). John Buchan among others converted the Red Clydesiders into lovable House of Commons characters. Completing this process in the 1930s and 1940s, Aneurin Bevan became perhaps the one Labour politician who seemed to embody the triumph of class-consciousness over regional loyalties. But did this denationalizing process not reflect the fact that 'proletarian Scotland', and to a much greater extent 'proletarian Wales', had only eclipsed the *gwerin* – or 'Goad's people' – to be eclipsed themselves?[100]

This may explain why the nature of the post-war political–intellectual response was broadly similar in both countries. A Liberal continuum led into autonomous (but weak) home-rule movements, but younger intellectual activists rejected Mazzinian nationalism for a combination of Spengler and politicized French Catholicism, in the case of Saunders Lewis, or for Communist internationalism, as with Lewis Grassic Gibbon – or, as in the case of Hugh MacDiarmid, for *both*![101] Edwin Muir's juxtaposition of medieval (and thus Catholic) fruitfulness and Calvinist barrenness, in *Scottish Journey* (1935) and 'Scotland 1941' was something he had in common with Saunders Lewis, as had Compton Mackenzie and Fionn MacColla, who were also more involved in Gaelic, Catholicism and a conservative corporatism.[102] Yet, as much as Muir and MacColla, MacDiarmid himself stemmed from, and celebrated, a rural Scotland whose experience was a reality to less than a quarter of the population.[103]

The new nationalists were unsparing about the *gwerin*'s political inadequacies, limited though their own achievements were. On the other hand,

[100] See Harvie, *Centre of Things*, pp. 156-9.
[101] Hugh MacDiarmid, *Albyn, or Scotland and the Future* (London: Kegan Paul, 1927), p. 11.
[102] Mackenzie's 'Jacobite' political credo is given at great length in the first chapter of *The North Wind of Love* (London: Rich and Cowan, 1945).
[103] Emlyn Sherrington, 'Welsh Nationalism, the French Revolution, and the Influence of the French Right, 1880-1930' in David Smith, ed., *A People and a Proletariat*, pp. 127-47: and see MacDiarmid, *Albyn*, p. i.

the politics of post-1945 Scotland and Wales were essentially the creation of nationally-inclined 'progressives', who had matured in the *gwerin* period: Tom Johnston (one of Sir Henry Jones' pupils at Glasgow University) in 1940s Scotland; James Griffiths in 1960s Wales.[104] 'It is a heritage', wrote Walter Elliot in 1932,

> wherein discipline is rigidly and ruthlessly enforced, but where criticism and attack are unflinching, continuous, and salt with a bitter and jealous humour. It is a heritage wherein intellect, speech and, above all, argument are the passports to the highest eminence in the land. These traditions we should study, and their histories are the annals of the parishes, their ministers, and their elders.[105]

This is the *gwerin* ideology, but the fact that it was being articulated by a Tory, and referred to a religious tradition which was still a power in the land, suggests some reasons why it remained livelier in Scotland after 1918. The *gwerin* hegemony in Wales had ultimately been too dependent on political good fortune and the health of nonconformity. Indeed, the irony is that both traditions continued to be hypnotically effective, in a Kailyard, conservative-populist, modulation. The *Sunday Post* was founded in 1931, and remains rooted in a small-town Scotland: its famous comic strip 'The Broons' preserves an extended family of a type practically extinct sixty years ago. Richard Llewellyn's *How Green Was My Valley* became iconic after its first publication in 1939, despite the fact that it simplified and sentimentalized the *gwerin* past the limits of caricature. Yet in its almost wholly mythical re-creation of a civil society seemingly divorced from state action, Llewellyn's novel has proved as hard a nut to crack as the Dundee Press.[106]

VIII

> *That* is The Land out there, under the sleet, churned and pelted there in the dark, the long rigs upturning their clayey faces to the spear-onset of the sleet. That is The Land, a dim vision this night of laggard fences and long–stretching rigs. And the voice of it – the true and unforgettable voice – you can hear on such a night as this as the dark comes down, the immemorial plaint of the peewit, flying lost. *That* is The Land – though not quite all.

[104] For Johnston see Graham Walker, *Thomas Johnston* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), Ch. 1; for Griffiths see Prys Morgan 'The *Gwerin* of Wales', p. 150.

[105] 'Scotland's Political Heritage' in *A Scotsman's Heritage* (1932), quoted in Coote, op.cit., p. 16.

[106] For the Dundee Press, tartanry, etc., see Tom Nairn, 'Old and New Scottish Nationalism'in *The Break-Up of Britain* (London: New Left Books, 1977), especially pp. 160ff.; for Llewellyn see *Planet* No. 76 (August, 1989).

> Those folk in the byre whose lantern light is a glimmer through the sleet
> as they muck and bed and tend the kye, and milk the milk into tin pails
> – they are The Land in as great a measure.[107]

'They' are the 'green international' that feeds the world. The power of
Lewis Grassic Gibbon's prose evocation of the thrawn, demotic radicalism
of the Scots crofter – something that far outpaces his ostensible, and
somewhat authoritarian, Marxism – is proof that, even in its *political*
decline, the notion of the 'empowered people' and the Carlyleian use
of language and drama to propel a social critique still had enormous
compulsion. The importance of schoolmaster-figures in the biography of
so many of the 'renaissance men' is a testament to the influence of *gwerin*
ideals; while even their ruralism and archaism helpfully coincided with the
reinstatement of anthropological and environmental concerns: making it
easier for them to latch on to Frazer, Freud, Jung and for that matter R.
D. Laing.[108]

In part the adaptation of the tradition was actually stimulated by the
War itself. In Scotland, for instance, the Scottish Women's Rural Institute
movement was set up under the *aegis* of the newly–created Board of
Agriculture for Scotland as part of its programme of agricultural planning.
Its aims were the creation of a rural 'community' which would bridge the
wives of 'muckle farmers' and farm labourers. In the following decade it
was to play the leading role in the significantly-titled Community Drama
movement. A leading writer of the 'kitchen comedies' which were its
stock-in–trade was the Fife miner, socialist and pacifist Joe Corrie, whose
play *In Time o' Strife* (1926) and poems like 'The Image o' God' predate
the Anglo-Welsh novels of the mining valleys in the 1930s.[109] In one sense
a loss, perhaps: in another the entry into a recognized social and political
role of half the population which the *gwerin* ideology had ignored. The real
'new departure' that the Scottish and Welsh 'renaissances' of the inter-war
years gave was a credible role for women: from popular writers like Annie
S. Swan – the first woman candidate in a Scots election – to Kate Roberts
and Naomi Mitchison.

Something of the paradox and peril of the whole mind-set is evident
in the testimony of a writer frequently featured in *Y Traethodydd*: Hugh
Miller, whose autobiography *My Schools and Schoolmasters* was published
in 1854. Miller was born in 1802 in Cromarty in Easter Ross, a seaport

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[107] Lewis Grassic Gibbon, 'The Land' in *The Scottish Scene* (1934), rpt. in Ian S. Munro,
ed., *A Scots Hairst* (London: Hutchinson, 1967), p. 67.
[108] See Douglas Gifford, *Gibbon and Gunn* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1983), pp. 1-5;
and Beveridge and Turnbull, *Eclipse of Scottish Culture*, pp. 91ff.
[109] See Linda Mackenney, ed., *Joe Corrie: Plays, Poems and Theatre Writings* (Edinburgh:
7:84 Publications, 1985), pp. 75.

close to the great divide between Lowland and Highland. His father, a small ship-owner, was drowned and Hugh had to 'de-class' himself and be apprenticed as a stonemason, later working himself up to a bank official and journalist. He was psychologically torn and ultimately destroyed by cultural tensions. As editor of the Free Church's *Witness* after 1839 he had to be a moderate Liberal; as a gifted geologist he was hamstrung by his religious fundamentalism. Yet this greyness is banished by the vitality of his autobiography. The pressure-points of a changing Scotland are viewed by a man vertiginously on the edge of so many divides: on the edge of the highland line, the sea, the oral tradition, the working class, of sanity itself.[110]

We could compare it with Matthew Arnold on *Celtic Literature*, well-meaning, anxious about the philistinism of his own countrymen, but devoid of any notion about how societies actually work, continually lapsing into ethnic stereotype. Tom Hughes, 'the Doctor's' disciple, can be acquitted of this, but in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), we see the ascriptive ethos of English class society made plain, while Miller's 'open' commitment to experience and change conveys the sensuality of knowledge, the excitement of acquiring it, the near-inebriated condition of the adept. Both books value childhood, but where Hughes foresees a life governed by the rules of team games (parliament itself being an obvious example) Miller's voyage is towards an unknown region, possibly exciting, possibly (as in his own case) disastrous. Conscious that many Welshmen must have written like this, in their own language, and excusing my own limitations in this field, I leave the last word with him:

> 'You Scotch are a strange people,' said one of the commercial gentlemen. 'When I was in Scotland two years ago, I could hear of scarce anything among you but your church question. What good does all your theology do for you?' 'Independently altogether of religious considerations,' I replied, 'It has done for our people what all your Societies for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and all your penny and Saturday magazines, will never do for yours: it has awakened their intellects and taught them how to think.'[111]

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[110] For an introduction to Miller see George Rosie, *Hugh Miller: Outrage and Order*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1980); and see Miller, *First Impressions of England*, pp. 16, 46.
[111] Ibid, p.11.